1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

The channel between the *Kurilskaya Lopatka* and this iſland is 15 verſts in breadth; over which they paſs in ſmall boats, when the weather is fair, in three hours. This paſſage requires not only fair weather, but likewiſe a flowing tide. In the time of the ebb, the waves ſpread for ſome verſts, are rapid and white, and ſo large that even in calm weather they riſe two or three fathoms high. Both the Coſſacks and *Kuriles* have a ſuperſtitious awe and veneration for theſe waves; and when they row over them, offer them a ſacrifice by throwing chips made on purpoſe, imploring a ſafe paſſage; the pilots alſo uſe conjurations the whole way.

The ſecond *Kurilskoy* iſland, *Paromuſir*, is twice as large as the firſt. It lies north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and is ſeparated from the firſt by a channel two verſts broad, where one veſſel may lie in time of neceſſity, but not without danger, there being no proper place for anchorage: and if a veſſel parts from her anchor, ſhe will be in very great danger; for the ſhore here being ſteep and rocky, and the channel narrow, it is next to impoſſible for her to eſcape. There was a melancholy example of this in the year 1741, when one of our veſſels was caſt away here. This iſland is alſo mountainous, and has as many lakes and rivulets as *Schumtſchu*; and on both of them, there is no other timber than *Slanetz* and *Ernick* which are uſed by the inhabitants for fuel, and they build their huts of different kinds of wood which they find thrown on the ſhore by the waves from *America* and *Japan*; among theſe are ſometimes found pieces of ranfarn wood, of which ſeveral large one's were brought thence to me. The inhabitants of this iſland are right *Kuriles*, who came there from the iſland *Onneckoot*; but upon what account is not known. All affirm, that between the inhabitants of the two above-mentioned iſlands, and the moſt remote, commerce was formerly eſtabliſh-

342
283
417

The Inside of a Winter Hut

facing R 181

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

CHAP. IV

Of the OSTROGS, *or* HABITATIONS, *of the* Kamtſchadales.

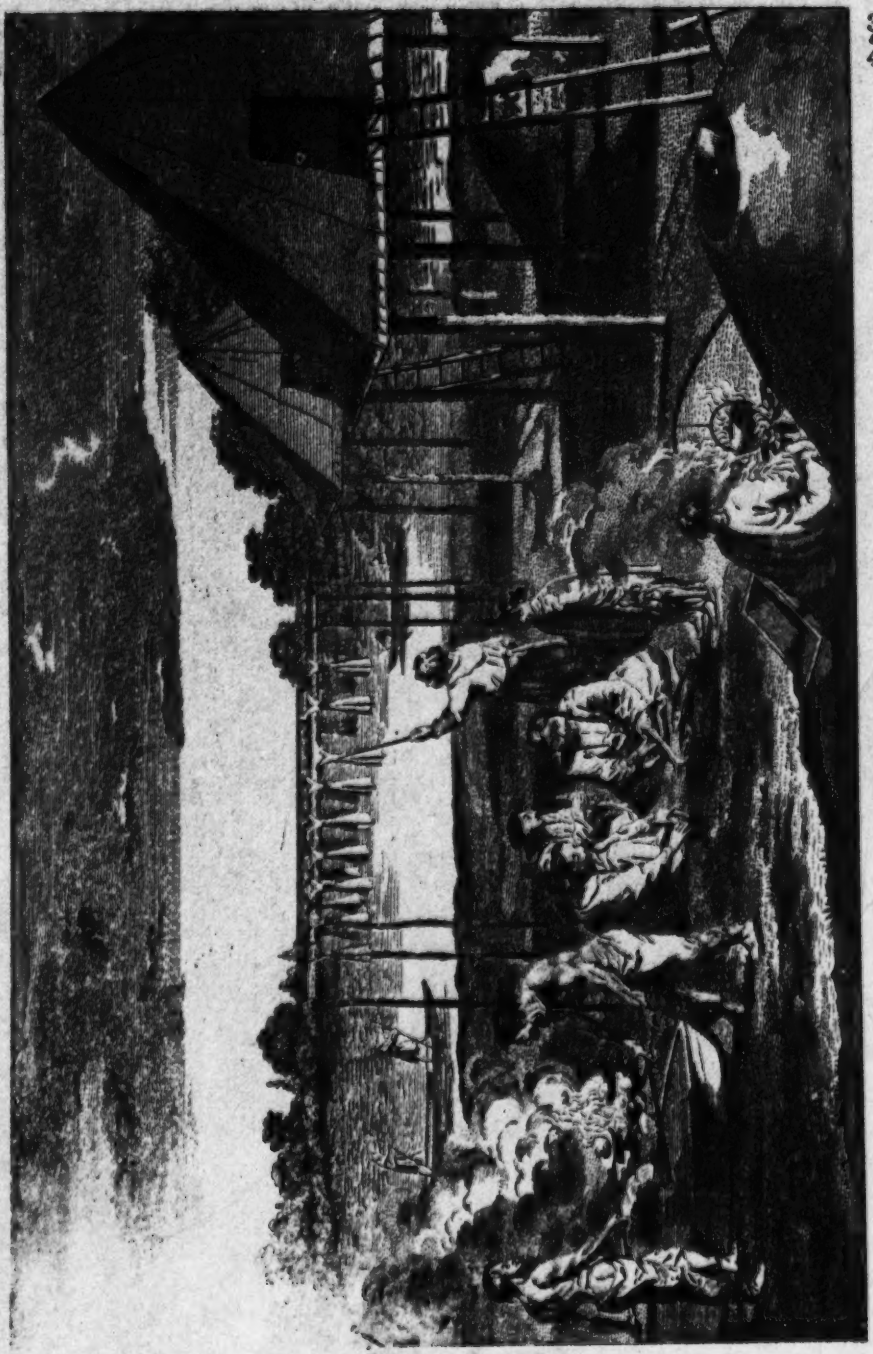
UNDER the name of *Oſtrog* we underſtand every habitation conſiſting of one or more huts, which are all ſurrounded by an earthen wall or palliſadoe.

The huts are built in the following manner: they dig a hole in the earth about five feet deep, the breadth and length of which is proportioned to the number of people deſigned to live in it. In the middle of this hole they plant four thick wooden pillars; over theſe they lay balks, upon which they form their roof or cieling, leaving in the middle a ſquare opening which ſerves them for a window and chimney; this they cover with graſs and earth, ſo that the outward appearance is like a round hillock; but within they are of an oblong ſquare, and the fire-place is in one of the long ſides of the ſquare: between the pillars round the walls of their huts they make benches, upon which each family lies ſeparately; but on that ſide oppoſite to the fire, there are no benches, it being deſigned for their kitchen furniture, in which they dreſs their victuals for themſelves and dogs. In theſe huts where there are no benches, there are balks laid upon the floor, and covered with mats. They adorn the walls of their huts with mats made of graſs.

They enter their huts by ladders commonly placed near the fire hearth, ſo that when they are heating their huts the ſteps of the ladder become ſo hot, and the ſmoke ſo thick, as almoſt

to

342
417



Summer Huts.

facing p. 182

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

342 to ſuffocate any one who is not inured to bear it: but the
417 natives find no difficulty in going out or in; and though they
626 can only fix their toes on the ſteps of the ladder, they mount like ſquirrels; nor do the women heſitate to go through this ſmoke with their children upon their ſhoulders; though there is another opening through which the women are allowed to paſs; but if any man ſhould pretend to do the ſame he would be
342 laughed at. The *Kamtſchadales* live in theſe huts all the winter, after which they go out into others which they call balagans: theſe ſerve them not only to live in during the ſummer, but alſo for magazines. They are made in the following manner: Nine pillars, about two fathom long or more, are fixed in the ground, and bound together with balks laid over them, which they cover with rods, and over all lay graſs, faſtening ſpars and a round ſharp roof at top, which they cover with bramble, and thatch with graſs. They faſten the lower ends of the ſpars to the balks with ropes and thongs, and have a door on each ſide one directly oppoſite to the other.

342 They have ſuch balagans, not only round their winter habita-
251 tions, but alſo in thoſe places where they lay up their food in ſummer; and they are certainly very convenient in this country on account of the frequent rains, which would ſurely ſpoil all their fiſh if it was not preſerved in ſuch places; beſides, when they return from fiſhing and hunting in the harveſt, they leave their dry fiſh here, 'till they can fetch it in the winter; and this without any guard only taking away the ladders. If theſe buildings were not ſo high the wild beaſts would undoubtedly plunder them; for notwithſtanding all their precaution, the bears ſometimes climb up and force their way into their magazines, eſpecially in the harveſt when the fiſh and berries begin to grow
343 ſcarce. In the ſummer, when they go a hunting, they have, beſides their balagans, huts made of graſs, in which they dreſs their

5: Jochelson A-5 (1910-11) 1928 Kamchadal

000 longed-for smoke of a steamer appeared on the horizon, but it cruised in the sea many miles away, as it was not safe to come near the shallow shore in the turbulent weather. After three days of waiting the storm subsided, the steamer came nearer and a large boat was despatched to take us aboard. High waves almost capsised the boat and finally did at a distance of a few feet from the shore. We saw with horror that the four sailors were covered by the boat, but in a moment they appeared from beneath it with the rope in their hands and dragged the boat to the shore. When they had dried themselves in one of the houses we trusted ourselves and our collection from Kuril Lake to the frail boat and after two hours of struggle with the sea we mounted the rope-ladder of the steamer. Never before have I had such a stormy sea passage. After 5 days of sickness, sailing through the Kuril Strait, we reached Petropavlovsk, which we left for Vladivostok several days later on the last mail steamer of the season. The following remarks concerning the finds made on the Kuril Lake and the form of sites discovered in Kamchatka in general are necessary.

177 From the remnants of objects of Japanese culture no inference can be made as 325 to the age of the sites. As we saw before (see p. 62) Japanese objects, such as 554 coins, pieces of porcelain cups and metallic artifacts, might have reached Kamchatka at a very early date. Krasheninnikoff says (I, p. 48) that the old Kamchadal 172 knew the art of hammering fragments of metal. They did not temper iron but, placing it cold on a stone, forged it with another stone instead of a hammer. If the eye of a needle broke, they flattened the broken end and drilled a new eye with another needle.

According to Steller (p. 320), the Kamchadal paid homage to pieces of iron obtained from the Kurilians. The iron was set up on a pole in front of the dwelling as proof of the wealth and special importance of its owner. Krasheninnikoff also states (II, p. 97) that every Kamchadal possessing a fragment of iron was deemed rich and lucky.

177 The Kamchadal, now Russianized, no longer live in subterranean houses, replacing the same by Russian block houses, or by huts of the Yakut type, also ● 342 introduced by the Russians. According to the descriptions of Krasheninnikoff and Steller, the ancient Kamchadal earth-hut had no entrance room such as the Koryak use in their underground dwellings during the summer. The Kamchadal earth-hut was only a winter dwelling. Its smoke hole in the ceiling served at the same time as a window and door, through which one entered by descending along a log with notches or holes. This was the only entrance opening, but there was, however, an underground passage in the shape of a narrow channel, for the draught, which started from the hearth and came out of the house at the side. Women, children and the so-called transformed men used to go in and out through this passage. From the illustrations of the excavated pits of ancient Kamchadal dwellings we see that the channel-passage was an indispensable part of their habitations, and 342 we see also from illustrations that it could be directed to different cardinal points. 823 We may only surmise the reasons for such a diversity. We know that many of

the Siberian tribes, for instance the Yakut and Buryat, have the entrance of their dwellings faced to the east, where the sun rises. The sun is regarded as a benevolent deity and it is advisable to have the door facing the sun in order to get its benefits. The back of the dwelling is turned to the west, the abode of evil spirits. The entrance of tents of nomadic peoples (Chukchee, Koryak, Tungus, Yukaghir and others) faces the east for the same reason. On the other hand the door of dwellings of maritime peoples faces the sea in order to give free access to sea-mammals, as though they were visitors. For the same reason the entrance of summer tents of Siberian fishers faces the river. According to Professor Petri the dwellings of the neolithic people of the Baikal region, the remnants of which he discovered, had entrances facing the south, the side of the sun's highest standing. Thus we can comprehend why the channel passage of the old Kamchadal dwelling faced, in some cases, the sea, in others the lake or a river in accordance with food, which one or another water basin supplied.

The shape of the pits was mostly oblong rectangular. On the Kuril Lake the pits were more or less quadrangular. The northern pits on the Kavran and Kulki Rivers were almost circular in form, thus nearing the shape of underground dwellings of the Koryak. The channel-passage is fitted in some cases to the middle of the oblong side of the pit and in others to the middle of the transverse side.

The largest pit, 34 by 30 feet, was excavated on the Nalacheva Cape and the smallest, 16 by 15 feet, on the Nalacheva Lake. The length of the channel passage ranges between 7 and 16 feet. With few exceptions, the channel-passage is longer, the larger the pit.

As the present remains of the pits of the former pit-dwellings are undoubtedly smaller than the former dwellings themselves, on account of earth and sand deposited by winds and accumulated mold from decayed grass, we may draw the conclusion that the ancient Kamchadal population was rather numerous and Kamchatka was densely inhabited. The pits are very near each other, and the shores of the Nalacheva Lake, as well as other places in Kamchatka, are covered with them. According to Krasheninnikoff, each pit-dwelling sheltered several related families. Often several pit-dwellings were located in one place, forming a village surrounded by earthen walls and trenches.

The Kamchadal pit-dwellings were used only during the winter. In the summer the Kamchadal lived in huts on piles several meters high. They were ascended by means of notched logs which could be drawn up to the platform of the huts. At present these elevated huts serve as storehouses. In some places, however, they are still used as summer dwellings (see Plate 4, B).[1]

In the pit excavated on the Osernaya River near the Kuril Lake, no traces of wooden posts were discovered. This may be regarded as a witness of the great age of the pit—the posts having decayed to such a degree that no trace of them is left.

[1] The summer pile-dwelling is also in use among the Gilyak but its posts are not as high as those of the Kamchadal pile-dwelling. The pile-dwelling, as an adoption from Siberia, is also reported from some places in Alaska (see H. P. Steensby, *An Anthropo-geographical Study of the Eskimo Culture*, p. 186). The storehouse on posts is known everywhere in Siberia, as well as in North America.

1. [Plate 4, A (not B) is a photograph of an elevated hut -- Analyst]

5: Jochelson A-5 (1910-11) 1928 Kamchadal

342

According to Krasheninnikoff the ancient Kamchadal had still another kind of summer dwelling, the superterrene grass lodge called bashabash. Unfortunately he does not state its shape—whether it was of a conical or hemispherical type. The bashabash was put up at the fishing places near the dwellings on piles and served chiefly as a place for cooking, which could not be done on the wooden platforms of the pile-dwellings.

R61
757
171

White clay, pieces of which were found in some of the excavations, was eaten by the Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 180), as a remedy for diarrhœa. Bogoras relates (*The Chukchee*, p. 200) that the reindeer Chukchee, the Koryak and Lamut in Kamchatka, occasionally use as food a kind of white clay called by them nute-een (earth-fat). The Kamchadal called the white clay "earth sour cream." Sternberg tells (*The Gilyak*, p. 17) of a Gilyak favorite dish for treating guests, called moss, which consists of a mixture of the gluey broth of fish skins, seal's fat, berries, rice, and sometimes of minced dried fish, to which the solution of white clay is added.

It must be noted that the use of some kinds of clay as food is not limited to Siberia alone. The eating of edible clay has been observed among certain Guiana Indians,[1] Carib and Antillean islanders,[2] and among the people of Georgia and the Carolinas.[3] Deniker refers to many other places where the habit of eating certain earthy substances—kaolin, clay, limestone—has been observed. He calls this habit *Geophagy* and explains it by the need of supplying the needed mineral substances (calcareous or alkaline salts).[4]

[1] W. E. Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Craft and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924).

[2] William Sheldon, *Brief Account of the Caribs who Inhabited the Antilles*, Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, I, 1820, pp. 393–435).

[3] Charlotte D. Gower, *The Northern and Southern Affiliations of Antillean Culture*, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Number 35, 1927, p. 28.

[4] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 145.

[P. 92]

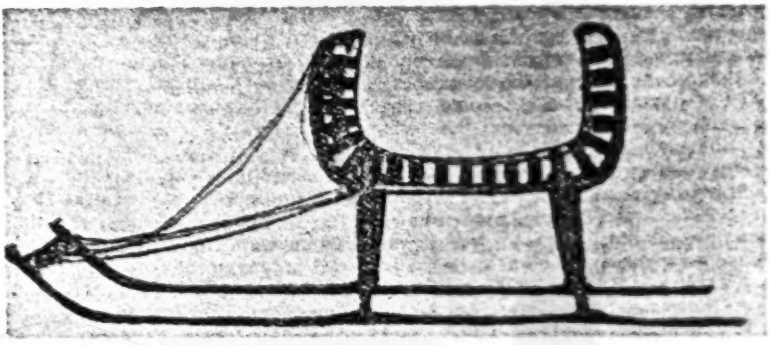
342

346

A. A Kamchadal storehouse on posts which serves also as a summer dwelling.
B. Greek-Catholic chapel in the village Kharyusovo.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

493



18th-century dogsled.

105

handle. Later the horn was replaced by an iron tip. Gathering plants was women's work. Fishing and hunting were men's occupations, but the preserving of fish was in the woman's domain, as were the spinning of thread for the nets from nettle, the weaving of mats, and sewing of clothes. Krasheninnikov reports that preparing food, tending the dogs and all carpentry work were done by men.

The Russians found among the Itel'mens a highly developed neolithic technology. "The former Kamchatka metals, almost until the coming of the Russians, were bone and stones. They were used in the making of axes, knives, spears, arrows, lancets and needles," Krasheninnikov writes about the Itel'mens. Rock crystal was also widely used for knives and tips. Fire was made with a wooden drill. Food, mainly fish and meat, was cooked even in the early 18th century in wooden troughs, into which red-hot stones were thrown.

The only domesticated animal of the Itel'mens was the dog. Later, harness dog-breeding of the so-called Eastern Siberian type developed in Kamchatka. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the Itel'mens used their ancient sled with two pairs of arched staves and a saddle-like seat. At the time of Krasheninnikov's visit, the Itel'mens had gliding skis, but used mostly woven snowshoes. River navigation was by bat—narrow boats, hollowed out of whole poplar trunks. For stability and greater carrying capacity, two of these boats were sometimes tied together and covered to make a platform. Krasheninnikov reports that it took the Itel'mens three years to make a bat with a stone adze.

The Russians called the Itel'men villages in the 18th century ostrozhkas, or "little forts." They were situated along river banks and consisted of winter and summer dwellings. The winter dwelling was a semiunderground yurt, as it was then called by the Russians, with an entrance through the smoke-opening in the roof. The dwelling also had a side exit, but this was used only by women and children. The summer dwelling of the individual family was the so-called balagan—a pyramidal, grass-covered tent set on high platforms resting on piles. The ancient dress of the Itel'mens resembled Koryak and Chukchi dress.

Such, in its general features, was the material culture of the Itel'mens in the beginning of the 18th century. Analogous to the low level of material production were the primitive forms of social relations.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

Village, 18th-century engraving.

At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position in every ostrozhka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy and life of the Itel'mens.

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

At present, the Itel'mens differ little in economy, culture and life from the neighboring Russian population of Kamchatka. They are united in fishing collectives which are well equipped with technical gear. A certain role in the Itel'men collectives is also played by sea hunting and the hunting of fur animals. 177 648 474 433

The land area devoted to gardening is growing yearly. Potatoes are grown everywhere in sufficient quantity to provide food until the next crop. The collectives have ploughs, harrows, haying-machines, and other agricultural implements. The ploughing is now done with horses. The stocks of cattle are gradually being improved; the preparation of hay is widely practiced, and warm barns have been built for the livestock. Some of the collectives, like the "Red Partisan," not only produce enough milk for their own needs, but also supply the workers and employees of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. [241]

Today, Itel'men collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious, bright, with large glass windows and plastered walls. The house furnishings are the same as those of the Russian collective-farm members. 177 648 312 474

In all the Itel'men villages there are medical institutions, clubs and schools. The instruction is in Russian, since all Itel'mens know Russian as well as their native language. Various institutions are staffed with native personnel. Dozens of Itel'mens, both men and women, are working as teachers, accountants, and nurses in hospitals, and are also serving in elective Party and Soviet posts. 177 648 36 [191] [463]

7: Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

361 ſcarcely more populous than that of St.
164 Peter and St. Paul. The ſmall pox has,
133 in this place particularly, made dreadful ravages. The number of balagans and iſbas ſeemed to be very nearly the ſame as at Petropavlofska*.

342 The Kamtſchadales lodge in the firſt du-
R ring ſummer, and retreat to the laſt in
177 winter. As it is thought deſirable that
. 34

dry at low water, render its entrance impracticable; it is even difficult at high water.

* As I ſtood to examine the Kamtſchadale houſes, I frequently imagined to myſelf the diſdainful ſurpriſe that our French Sybarites would expreſs at the ſight, ſome of whom are ſo proud of their vaſt hotels, and others ſo jealous of their little neat and decorated apartments, where the art of arrangement ſcarcely falls ſhort of the refined luxury of ſuperb furniture. I conceived them to exclaim—How can human beings live in theſe miſerable huts! A Kamtſchadale however, is by no means unhappy in theſe cabins, whoſe architecture ſeem to lead us back to the firſt age of the world; he lives there with his family in tranquillity; he enjoys at leaſt the happineſs of knowing few privations, and of having therefore leſs wants, and has no objects of envious compariſon before his eyes.

they

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

342 they ſhould be brought gradually to re-
R ſemble the Ruſſian peaſants, they are pro-
177 hibited, in this ſouthern part of Kamt-
.34 ſchatka, from conſtructing any more *yourts*, or ſubterraneous habitations; theſe are all deſtroyed at preſent*, a few veſtiges only remain of them, filled up within, and appearing externally like the roofs of our ice-houſes.

342 The balagans are elevated above the ground upon a number of poſts, placed at equal diſtances, and about twelve or thirteen feet high. This rough ſort of colonnade ſupports in the air a platform made of rafters, joined to one another, and overſpread with clay: this platform ſerves as a floor to the whole building, which conſiſts of a roof in the ſhape of a cone, covered with a kind

* I met with ſome afterwards in the northern part, which I took care to examine, and have deſcribed in their proper place.

of

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

342 of thatch, or dried graſs, placed upon long
354 poles faſtened together at the top, and bear-
511 ing upon the rafters. This is at once the
417 firſt and laſt ſtory; it forms the whole apart-
ment, or rather chamber: an opening in the roof ſerves inſtead of a chimney to let out the ſmoke, when a fire is lighted to dreſs their victuals; this cookery is performed in the middle of the room, where they eat and ſleep pell-mell together without the leaſt diſguſt or ſcruple. In theſe apartments, windows are out of the queſtion; there is merely a door, ſo low and narrow, that it will ſcarcely ſuffice to admit the light. The ſtair-caſe is worthy of the reſt of the building; it conſiſts of a beam, or rather a tree jagged in a ſlovenly manner, one end of which reſts on the ground, and the other is raiſed to the height of the floor. It is placed at the angle of the door, upon a level, with a kind of open gallery that is erected before it. This tree

retains

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

Those of winter are less singular; and if
equally large, would exactly reſemble the
342 habitations of the Ruſſian peaſants. Theſe
177 have been ſo often deſcribed, that it is univer-
352 ſally known how they are conſtructed and
513 arranged. The iſbas are built of wood;
562 that is to ſay, the walls are formed by plac-
ing long trees horizontally upon one an-
other, and filling up the interſtices with
clay. The roof ſlants like our thatched
houſes, and is covered with coarſe graſs, or
ruſhes, and frequently with planks. The
interior part is divided into two rooms, with
a ſtove placed ſo as to warm them both, and
which ſerves at the ſame time as a fire-
place for their cookery. On two ſides of
the largeſt room, wide benches are fixed,
and ſometimes a ſorry couch made of
planks, and covered with bears ſkin. This
is the bed of the chief of the family: and
the women, who in this country are the
ſlaves of their huſbands, and perform all
the

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

562 the moſt laborious offices, think themſelves
352 happy to be allowed to ſleep in it.

Beſides theſe benches and the bed, there is alſo a table, and a great number of images of different ſaints, with which the Kamtſchadales are as emulous of furniſhing their chambers, as the majority of our celebrated connoiſſeurs are of diſplaying their magnificent paintings.

342 The windows, as may be ſuppoſed, are
237 neither large or high. The panes are made of the ſkins of ſalmon, or the bladders of various animals, or the gullets of ſea wolves prepared, and ſometimes of leaves of talc; but this is rare, and implies a ſort of opulence. The fiſh ſkins are ſo ſcraped and dreſſed that they become tranſparent, and admit a feeble light to the room*;

* They produce an effect ſomewhat ſimilar to the oiled paper in the windows of our manufactories.

but

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchada

317 but objects cannot be ſeen through them.
342 The leaves of talc are more clear, and approach nearer to glaſs; in the mean time they are not ſufficiently tranſparent for perſons without to ſee what is going on within: this is manifeſtly no inconvenience to ſuch low houſes.

622 Every oſtrog is preſided by a chief, called
554 *toyon*. This kind of magiſtrate is choſen
R from among the natives of the country,
177 by a plurality of voices. The Ruſſians
.62 have preſerved to them this priviledge, but the election muſt be approved by the juriſdiction of the province. This toyon is merely a peaſant, like thoſe whom he judges and governs; he has no mark of diſtinction, and performs the ſame labours as his ſubordinates. His office is chiefly to watch over the police, and inſpect the execution of the orders of government. Under him is another Kamtſchadale, choſen

000 have proceeded from the north, and been very heavy, which was confirmed by the inhabitants. Our road lay invariably through a foreſt of birch trees, and for ſome time we loſt ſight of the mountains, by which we had paſſed the preceding evening; but as we drew nearer to Pouſchiné they became viſible again.

354 361 342 The Kamtſchatka runs by the lower end of this oſtrog, which is larger than that of Ganal. The only thing I remarked in this place was, that the iſbas had no chimneys; they have only, like the balagans, a narrow opening in the roof to let out the ſmoak, which is frequently cloſed up by a trap door to confine the heat. It is not poſſible to continue in apartments warmed in this manner; we muſt either come out, or proſtrate ourſelves on the floor, if we would eſcape being ſtifled, or at leaſt blinded, by the ſmoke: it does not aſcend directly towards

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

354 wards the roof, but ſpreads a thick black
342 cloud over the chamber; and as it ſeldom has time wholly to evaporate, the interior part of theſe iſbas is lined with ſoot, which gives them a diſguſting aſpect and a moſt offenſive ſmell.

354 But it is ſtill leſs unpleaſant than the
356 noiſome odour exhaled from a diſmal lamp, that ſerves as a light to the whole houſe. Its form is not of the moſt elegant kind: it is ſimply a hollow pebble or ſtone, with a rag rolled up in the middle for a wick, round which is placed the greaſe of the ſea wolf, or other animals. As ſoon as the wick is lighted, we are immediately ſurrounded with a dark and thick vapour, which contributes equally with the ſmoke to blacken the whole room: it ſeiſes the noſe and throat, and penetrates to the very heart. This is not the only diſagreeable ſmell that is experienced in theſe habitations; there is

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

000 ſtock of dried fiſh, not yet come up, and intended for the nouriſhment of our dogs in the deſerts, which we are now to traverſe, I ſhall embrace this opportunity of tranſcribing various notes made in this and the preceding villages. They will not be placed in the ſame order as they were written; it muſt be ſuppoſed that the rapidity with which we travelled, frequently left me no choice in this reſpect *.

342 I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the yourts, which I have not yet deſcribed, deſerving as] they are of particular attention. Theſe ſtrange houſes are ſunk in the earth, as I before obſerved, and the top, which appears above

* I ſhall be cenſured perhaps for making my narrative abound with dry and uniform details. I would willingly ſpare the reader in this reſpect, if I had not promiſed to obſerve the utmoſt accuracy. Let him conſider the objects with which I am ſurrounded in the immenſe extent of country that I travel, and he will perceive that they are almoſt always the ſame. Does it then depend upon me to vary my deſcriptions, and avoid tautology?

ground,

Lesseps T-3 (1787-88) 1790 Kamchadal

342 ground, is like a truncated cone. To
354 form a juſt idea of them, we muſt conceive of a large ſquare hole about twelve or fourteen yards in diameter, and eight feet deep; the four ſides are lined with joiſts or boards, and the interſtices of theſe walls are filled up with earth, ſtraw, or dried graſs, and ſtones. In the bottom of this hole various poſts are fixed, that ſupport the croſs beams upon which the roof reſts. The roof begins upon a level with the ground, and riſes four feet above it; it is two feet thick, has a very gradual ſlope, and is made of the ſame materials as the walls. Towards the top is a ſquare opening, about four feet long and three wide, which ſerves as a paſſage for the ſmoke * and an entrance to the

* There is ſuch a continual ſmoke in theſe ſubterraneous habitations, that the opening in the roof is not ſufficient to let it out, and there is therefore in an unoccupied corner of the yourt, behind the fire-place, a kind of vent-hole in an oblique direction. It is called *joupann*; it terminates without, at a little diſtance from the ſquare opening, and is commonly cloſed up with a mat or ſtraw covering.

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

342 yourt, where the women as well as the
men go in and out by means of a ladder,
or notched beam, that is raiſed to a level
with this opening. There is another very
low entrance in one ſide of the yourt, but
it is conſidered as a kind of diſgrace to
351 make uſe of it. I ſhall terminate the de-
ſcription of the exterior part of theſe habi-
tations by adding, that they are ſurrounded
with tolerably high paliſades, doubtleſs as
a protection againſt the gales of wind, or
falls of ſnow; it is ſaid, however, that theſe
encloſures formerly ſerved as ramparts to
defend theſe people againſt their enemies.

342 We have no ſooner deſcended theſe ſavage
352 abodes, than we wiſh ourſelves out again;
the view and the ſmell are equally offenſive.
The interior part conſiſts of one entire
room, about ten feet high. A bench, five
feet wide, and covered with various ſkins,
half worn out, extends all round it. This
bench

22: Guillemard T-2 (1882) 1886 Kamchadal

000 onlooker it would seem as if we were deliberately beaching the vessel. "Starboard! hard a-starboard!" comes the order. "'Ard a-starboard," echoes the man at the wheel. "Hard a-port!" "'Ard a-port it is," he sings out, clawing the wheel towards him with foot and hand. "Well! I'm blessed if ever I see the likes of this 'ere place," I hear Jack mutter as we are safely berthed, and, on the whole, I am very much inclined to agree with him.

505 Our arrival created no little excitement among the inhabitants of this remote little spot: it might possibly have created even more had we not entered the harbour almost at the moment of departure of the yearly fur steamer for Japan *viâ* Okhotsk. All Petropaulovsky had assembled to wave their adieux, and not a few of them appeared torn by the conflicting desires of seeing the last of their friends and of discovering the business of the new-comers.

161 The steamer was hardly under way before we were receiving our
361 visitors. They were but limited in number. Petropaulovsky, in
342 spite of the imposing letters to which it is treated in the maps, is, after all, little more than a hamlet, and is probably stationary, if not actually decreasing, with regard to population. Clerke, in 1779, found the settlement consisting of thirty huts built upon the sand-spit to which I have already alluded, and consisting mostly of yourts or balagans.[1] Captain Cochrane, who in 1821 performed the unprecedented feat of walking across Siberia from Russia to Kamschatka, describes it as having increased to fifty-seven buildings, some of which were on the mainland; and at the period of the Crimean war it appears to have been as large as it is at the present time, if not actually larger. The town had been transferred to the head of the little harbour, where it now stands, and boasted of no less than two hundred edifices of all kinds. But in Kamschatka, as in other northern countries, winter storehouses, fish-drying sheds, and other out-buildings are so numerous, that the actual dwelling-

[1] A yourt is a semi-subterranean winter dwelling, roofed with turf. The balagans are only used in summer: they are rough wooden buildings erected on piles. The upper part serves as the dwelling-house, while, beneath, the salmon are hung up in rows to dry.

28: Sarytschew--67 T-1 (1789-90) 1806 Kamchadal
116, 157, 177, 181, 291, 342

"On comparing the present condition of the Kamtschadales, and their way of living, with Krascheninikow's description of them, we find them to have undergone a remarkable change. They have now almost entirely renounced their former superstitious customs, and submitted to baptism. Jurts, or subterraneous dwellings, are now vanished, and their place is every where supplied by Russian isbas. The female Kamtschadales have a dress for holidays very similar to those of the female Kosaks, for they wear stomachers and petticoats, and bind a handkerchief round their heads. The abundance of fish, and the facility with which they prosure a subsistence, now grown pleasant by habit, are probably the causes why they make no exertions in agriculture, or the breeding of cattle. It is much more remarkable, that their long and close intercourse with the Russians should not have given them a little more worldly wisdom; for they continue to this moment to barter their sables and foxes skins for the merest trifles. With this deficiency in cultivation, they retain, however, their good qualities, and are just as good-hearted, sincere, peaceable, obliging, and hospitable as before. Their prominent faults are uncleanliness and idleness. Thieving is very rare, and murder still more rare. Some travellers charge them with the vice of drunkenness, but I cannot confirm this with my testimony; whatever bad exceptions there may be, they cannot serve as a general rule."

/333 cont./

342 The next Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kamchadal, lived
175 through the winter exclusively in earth yurts at the time of Steller and Krascheninnikof. One finds a detailed description by the two travelers and in Steller there is even a plan and a view of the
342 interior (7). Apart from minor details in its interior arrangement
354
[191]

[113]

7. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 212; Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, izdav. Imp. Akad. Nauk", Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37).

/334/ the Kamchadal earth-yurt showed an interesting deviation from the one of the Gilyak in that in it the outer, covered passageway leading to the door became a channel, which, with its interior opening directed toward the hearth in the middle of the yurt, served to produce a strong draft when a fire was made, but afterwards, when the fire had gone out, was closed at its
[419] outer end. According to Steller (1), only children were permitted

1. Op. cit., p, 214.

to crawl in and out of the yurt through this channel (2); the smoke

[114]
[192]
[562]

2. According to Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 40), also women and kojektschutsch or kojacht tschitsch (Steller, op. cit. p. 351, note), i.e., men who behaved like women on the other hand, if a man had done it, he would have exposed himself to the derision of all those present. As a consequence of garbling the Kamchadal designation for the outer opening of this channel (schoponatsch), the Russian Cossacks call it shupan.

/334 cont./

342
[364]
[419]
[101]

hole directly above the hearth, from which an oblique beam with deep notches led down to the floor of the yurt, served the adults for entering and leaving. As Steller reports (3), on account of

3. Op. cit., pp. 8 and 240.

their earth yurts, the Kamchadal of the Penshini (Okhotsk) Sea were called "Namalau" or "Namalan," i.e., living in subterranean houses, by their northern neighbors, the Reindeer Koryak -- a designation from which Gerland derives the name Namollo for the Eskimo or Juit /Yuit/ -- as they call themselves -- who migrated back from America to the Asiatic coast of the Bering Sea (4).

114
10
[113]

4. G. Gerland, "Zur Ethnogr. des äussersten Nordostens von Asien /On the Ethnography of the Extreme Northeastern Part of Asia/" (Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XVIII, 1883, p. 221). I am not able to decide whether this derivation is justified, but in any case Gerland has completely misunderstood the above statement by Steller, in that he thinks that the Koryak designate with the first of these names (Namalau) the Kamchadal living along the Kamchatka River, and with the latter (Namalan) the Tungus, likewise because of their earth yurts. According to Steller, these names refer neither to the one nor to the other, but both alike to the Kamchadal (Italmen) along the Sea of Okhotsk (Penshini /Penzhina/). He expressly states about those living along the Kamchatka River that the Koryak call them Jutilitan, but is unable to give any reason for it (p. 8); concerning the Tungus, however -- who, by the way, have no earth yurts at all -- he notes only (p. 240) that they, in spite of their frequent raids extending to the Penshina River even before the arrival of the Russians,

G /353 cont./
352 running under it and therefore is better suited for the feet than
354 for the head. There is another justification for this custom in
513 the winter houses of the Amur peoples. If one lies with his
516 head against the wall, he exposes himself so that the rats,
171 which are exceedingly abundant in these houses and which al-
[136] ways run along the walls, would be constantly running over the
G face. This alone, however, would not make the Gilyak refuse
[084] to allow even a stranger to assume this position on their kang,
[099] if superstition did not demand strict observance of the tradi-
tional custom, and afraid of any violation of it, no matter by
G whom, as misfortune for all the inhabitants of the house.
342 Due to the lack of historical data, it cannot be deter-
171 mined when the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak on the
Amur and, gradually spreading downstream, supplanting the
G earth yurt, reached the Amur-Liman, the coast of the Sea of
[175] Okhotsk, and the Liman coast of Sakhalin. In the reports of
Pojarkof and Nagiba, who spent the winter among the Gilyak
at the mouth of the Amur and along the Sea of Okhotsk in 1644-
45 and 1652 (3), there are, unfortunately, no hints which would

3. See pp. 216, 219 ff. above.

K permit conclusions about the nature of the Gilyak houses at that
342 time. In the case of another Paleo-Asiatic people, the Kam-
179 chadal, we see the original earth-yurt completely disappear
175 before an imported, foreign type of house construction within
the short space of about 50 years. At the time of Krascheninnikof
and Steller (in the forties of the previous century), all the
Kamchadal still lived in earth yurts of the type described above.
Even in 1779, when Clerke, the successor of Cook on the latter's
third voyage, visited Kamchatka, at least the south of the
peninsula, between Peter-and-Paul's Harbor and Bolscherezk (4).

K
[113]

4. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren 1776-1780 unter Anführ. der Capitäne Cook, Clerke, Gore und King, transl. by J.R.Forster, Berlin, 1781, p. 333.

K /353 cont./

342 Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/
175 from his journey through the country that there were no longer
177 any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere; only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are likewise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by

G
114
175
342
177

1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

Mamia Rinsô on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur region were too different to have produced an equally rapid disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled

K
342
177
G
[342]
[177]
K
[648]

K
342
177
648

/354 cont./ permanently among the natives, who were greatly decimated by the previous bloody battles, building their houses in their own way and entering into permanent, peaceful relations with the Kamchadal, even mixing with them more and more. It is therefore not surprising that their style of building soon became the customary one throughout the region. Matters were different in the lower Amur region among the Chinese and Manchu: a conquest and colonization of this region by the peoples named have never taken place. As was discussed above in detail (3),

G
342
177
439
[648]

3. See pp. 119, 142-144 above.

it instead was and is visited only from time to time by individual Manchu officials and Chinese merchants who, in a few places where they have their own houses, always take up residence in the houses of the natives, and this only among the Tungusic Amur-peoples, for the Gilyak have even denied the Chinese traders entry into their region. Hence, it undoubtedly must have taken a long time before the Chinese winter-yurt reached the Gilyak from the Chinese on the Sungari, spreading down this river and the Amur from people to people, and the trading expeditions which the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak from ancient times to now have conducted annually to the Chinese along the Sungari and on which they have had repeated opportunities to become familiar with and to appreciate the type of construction of the Chinese house, must certainly have contributed most of all to its adoption and further spread among the Amur peoples.

G
[174]

G
342

/355/ In April and May, when spring comes, the Gilyak find it necessary to abandon their winter dwellings and to move into their summer dwellings. First the inhabitants of the earth yurts are driven out of their houses, because they are made wet and uninhabitable by the water running in both from the top and the sides as a consequence of the melting snow and the thawing of the ground. The Chinese winter-yurts, set on level ground, are more serviceable, even in spring and summer, though even in them water sometimes comes through or over

G 343 /358 cont./ merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G 342 343 171 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings mentioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original, peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along

K [175] [342]

ooo

K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

K [132]

K [178] [179]